

November 10, 1959

The Honorable Christian Herter,  
Secretary of State,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

During my stay in Washington, in my capacity as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council and member of the Committee of the League for the Liberation of the Peoples of the U.S.S.R. (Paris Bloc), I presented a memorandum dated January 13, 1958, to your esteemed predecessor, Mr. John Foster Dulles. In this memorandum I took the liberty of expressing the opinion that the West should devote its attention more to the non-Russian sector of the anti-Bolshevist fight, that is to say, that it should, as far as possible, give the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union its support in the fight which is being conducted under the watchword "Freedom, Democracy and Independence." An attitude of this kind on the part of the West would be very necessary and expedient, particularly at the present moment, after the visit of the head of the Soviet government, Khrushchov, to the USA and at a time when Moscow is developing its misleading propaganda about peaceful coexistence, -- namely, for the following reasons:

I. The Soviet peace offensive cannot be regarded as sincere. The Soviet Union is afraid of risking a war, but has not abandoned various forms of aggression against the Western world. It is only

internal difficulties in the Communist bloc that deter Moscow from intensifying its aggression tactics. Accordingly, every internal weakness in the Soviet Union lessens the danger of the Soviet aggression.

II. The internal weakness of the Communist bloc lies, apart from economic and social considerations, in the first place in the resistance of the captive nations and, amongst these, mainly in the resistance of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, since it is only these peoples who are in a position to shake the foundations of Soviet power in its centre.

It must, however, be openly admitted that the latest moves in the policy of the Western world and mainly in that of the USA are evoking disquiet and disappointment amongst these peoples. The latter naturally gain the impression that the West, in conducting intensive negotiations with Moscow, is not interested in their fate and is leaving them in the lurch. Soviet propaganda itself furthers this impression by exaggerating beyond all bounds the success of Moscow's diplomacy and also the success achieved by Khrushchov during his visit to the USA. And it is precisely for this reason that, in our opinion, manifestations of sympathy on the part of the West for the natural allies behind the Iron Curtain are very expedient at the present time: for all the captive nations and, in particular, for the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

III. We are convinced that a more active attitude on the part of the West towards the captive nations (including the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union) would not be any obstacle at all to the political negotiations which are at present being conducted between the East and the West. Although Moscow is developing its peace offensive, it continues to stir up unrest and revolts in various parts of the world, as can be seen from the latest events in India. Even if one cannot affirm for certain that Communist China is acting with Khrushchov's consent, Moscow is nevertheless deriving an advantage from China's action, since incidents of this kind evoke unrest and cause the Western world various difficulties. By stressing the problems of the captive nations, however, one can force the Soviet Union into an unpleasant position and increase its internal difficulties. In that case Moscow would be more disposed to make concessions when negotiating with the West.

It is from this standpoint that we regard the resolution of the US Congress on the establishment of the "Week of Captive Nations" and the subsequent proclamation issued by President Eisenhower as a very skilful political move. This is precisely the moment when such moves are very appropriate in order to encourage the captive nations. Moreover, they refute the assertions of Soviet propaganda, according to which the USA and other countries of the free world oppose the independence of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and want to make them colonies of world capitalism. The fact that there were so far no manifestations of sympathy on the part of the free world for the striving for independence of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, has

considerably facilitated Moscow's propaganda.

In our opinion, any fears that such moves as the establishment of the "Week of Captive Nations" might give these peoples the impression that they are to be liberated from without, are entirely unfounded. In this case it is only a question of a manifestation of sympathy and a declaration of solidarity with the efforts of the captive nations, a fact which will encourage these peoples to continue to hold out in their positions, in the fight which they are conducting with their own forces.

It seems to us, however, that resolutions and proclamations alone will not suffice if they are not followed up by a practical activity on the part of those institutions which concern themselves with the policy to be pursued regarding the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. It is not a question of a thorough change in the policy pursued so far by the USA in these matters, but of a certain change in the method of working and in the propaganda activity of the competent institutions concerned, in the meaning of the resolution of the US Congress. In the above-mentioned memorandum to Mr. John Foster Dulles the following points were stressed:

"We permit ourselves to draw your attention to certain steps which in our opinion it is essential to take at this crucial moment:

1. It is vital that responsible government, political or at least public circles of the Free World, particularly in the USA, proclaim their solidarity with the struggle for freedom, democracy and independence of the enslaved non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union.

2. Regardless of whether the suggestion contained in Point 1 above can be implemented immediately, it is essential that it be made possible for the centers-in-exile of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR to initiate political activity in the Free World, activity based on positions of independence, not on positions of what is known as "non-predetermination." Adherence to the position of independence is absolutely necessary if only because Moscow asserts constantly that the Soviet Union has assured the existence of sovereign and independent states of the non-Russian peoples. Thus in any event, the West should not offer these peoples less than Moscow.

Hitherto, the Representative Bodies of the non-Russian peoples have in fact had very little opportunity for carrying on political activity in the Free World. If it were made possible for these Representative Bodies united in the Paris Bloc to realize even part of the activities being carried on by representatives of the satellite states in the Assembly of Captive European Nations (publication of material, representation in various countries of the Free World, holding of conferences, participation in various international conferences, etc.) then great practical results could be achieved in the struggle against Soviet imperialism.

3. Radio propaganda in the languages of the non-Russian peoples should be adapted and expanded to reflect the development of the political activities of the Representative Bodies. The populations of our countries pay great attention to the activities of their emigration. Moscow fears these activities.

It is essential that existing broadcasting organizations which transmit in languages of the Soviet Union carry, at least in the form of news, information about the activities of various organizations and national centers which stand on positions of independence. It is also important that political figures in exile be able to speak to their peoples over the radio. The lack of this type of radio propaganda may create among our peoples the impression that their politically-active compatriots in the Free World have abandoned the independentist positions. What is even worse, the impression may be created that the USA and the Free World are forbidding them to carry on their activities. This could be exploited by Moscow as proof that there is no real freedom in the West.

4. The interested learned and academic institutions studying Soviet affairs should devote more attention to problems relating to individual nations of the Soviet Union and not only to a study of the Soviet Union as one whole.

We believe that the measures outlined above could be implemented through pertinent changes in the policies and activities of all those institutions which are engaged in anti-Soviet political and propaganda activities such as the American Committee for Liberation and its divisions (the Political Division, Radio Liberation, the Institute for the Study of the USSR). If this is considered impossible because of the participation of Russians in their activities, then these measures could be realized through the creation of new institutions which would be concerned

We can regard the first point of the requests put forward by us as having been fulfilled with the resolution of the US Congress, for which reason the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council sent a telegram of thanks to the US President and the US Congress at the time in question. The following points of our requests, however, are still unfulfilled. The American Committee for Liberation, with which we conducted special negotiations in this connection and to which we likewise presented a special memorandum, did not deem it necessary to consider our suggestions. What is more, the American Committee for Liberation negated the first point, inasmuch as it belittled and in part completely ignored the resolution of the US Congress and the proclamation by the US President. Radio "Liberty" of the American Committee for Liberation did not broadcast the resolution of the US Congress at all and only reported on the proclamation by the President in a very superficial way.

The American Committee for Liberation, in complete disregard of our protests and demands, has not changed its attitude to the resolution of the US Congress and refuses to make the alterations in its practical activity which we suggested in our requests. In view of this attitude on the part of the American Committee for Liberation, the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council has been obliged to inform the managing committee of the American Committee for Liberation that it no longer considers itself bound to co-operate with this organization. At the same time, we suggest to the managing committee of the American Committee for Liberation that, in negotiations with us, arrangements should be made, on the strength of which a co-operation on the part of the Ukrainians with the institutions of the American Committee for

Liberation can be effected. Should the American Committee for Liberation in this case, too, disregard our wishes as regards the guiding principles of the political work and propaganda, then we shall be obliged to adopt a definitely negative attitude towards its activity and to refrain from all co-operation with it. In that case it would be imperative to transfer the matters pertaining to the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples to another institution, as, incidentally, I already mentioned in my previous memorandum.

Indeed, the time appears to have come for this solution, since we have, unfortunately, convinced ourselves that the present guiding principles of the activity of the American Committee for Liberation are prejudicial not only to the efforts of the Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union to attain their freedom and independence, but also to the protection of the USA and the whole world against the danger of Soviet Russian imperialism.

We should, Sir, be extremely grateful to you if you would use your influence to see to it that our suggestions are accepted and carried out in this or in some other way. I should be only too pleased to let you have any further information you may require.

Very faithfully yours,

Mykola Liwyckyj  
Chairman of the Executive Committee  
of the Ukrainian National Council